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131408Z Nov 01

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ACTION AF-00

INFO LOG-00 NP-00 AID-00 ACQ-00 CIAE-00 INL-00 DODE-00  
SRPP-00 DS-00 VC-00 TEDE-00 INR-00 LAB-01 VCE-00  
DCP-01 NSAE-00 EPAB-00 DSCC-00 DRL-02 NFAT-00 SAS-00  
/004W

-----3D927E 131457Z /07

FM AMEMBASSY HARARE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0259  
INFO NSC WASHDC PRIORITY  
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L HARARE 003367

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR JENDAYI FRAZER  
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU  
LONDON FOR GURNEY  
PARIS FOR NEARY

E.O. 12958: DECL. 10/31/11

TAGS: [PREL](#) [PGOV](#) [PHUM](#) [ZI](#)

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR AND VICE PRESIDENT MSIKA DISCUSS  
TERRORISM,  
LAND REFORM, RULE OF LAW, ELECTION OBSERVATION

CLASSIFIED BY PUBLIC AFFAIRS OFFICER BRUCE WHARTON. REASONS:  
1.5. (B) AND (D).

SUMMARY

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[1](#)1. (C) IN AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN'S INITIAL COURTESY CALL ON VICE  
PRESIDENT JOSEPH MSIKA ON NOVEMBER 8, THE VICE PRESIDENT  
OFFERED HIS VIEW OF ZIMBABWE'S RECENT HISTORY AND A SPIRITED  
DEFENSE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE'S (GOZ) RECORD ON RULE OF  
LAW AND LAND REFORM. HE PLEDGED CONTINUED SUPPORT OF THE  
GLOBAL EFFORT AGAINST TERRORISM AND SPOKE OF GOZ UMBRAGE AT  
THE EUROPEAN UNION (EU) DEMAND THAT INTERNATIONAL ELECTION  
OBSERVERS BE INVITED TO ZIMBABWE. MSIKA ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN  
THAT THE US WAS UNFAIRLY CRITICAL OF THE GOZ, SPECIFICALLY  
NOTING THE POSSIBILITY OF SANCTIONS UNDER THE ZIMBABWE  
DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMIC RECOVERY ACT (ZDERA). END SUMMARY.

FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM

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[1](#)2. (U) AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN OPENED THE MEETING BY THANKING MSIKA  
FOR GOZ SUPPORT IN THE GLOBAL EFFORT AGAINST TERRORISM. THE  
AMBASSADOR MADE FUNDAMENTAL POINTS ABOUT THE FIGHT AGAINST  
TERROR AND RECEIVED MSIKA'S ASSURANCE THAT ZIMBABWE UNDERSTOOD  
THE ISSUES AND WOULD MAINTAIN A STRONG POSITION AGAINST  
TERRORISM.

US POLICY TOWARD ZIMBABWE

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[1](#)3. ( C ) VICE PRESIDENT MSIKA OFFERED A LENGTHY OVERVIEW OF THE  
HISTORY OF ZIMBABWE SINCE 1979. THE POINTS HE MADE ABOUT THE  
LANCASTER HOUSE NEGOTIATIONS, INEQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND  
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IN ZIMBABWE, THE COUNTRY'S HISTORY OF ELECTIONS, AND THE  
POPULAR DEMAND FOR LAND FOLLOWED PRECISELY THE ARGUMENTS MADE  
BY PRESIDENT MUGABE AT AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN'S PRESENTATION OF  
CREDENTIALS TWO WEEKS EARLIER. MSIKA ENDED THE HISTORY LESSON  
BY ASKING WHY THE UNITED STATES NOW WANTED TO "INTRODUCE  
SANCTIONS" (AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO THE ZDERA) AND HEATEDLY  
DISAGREEING WITH THE NOTION THAT ZIMBABWE HAD ABANDONED THE  
RULE OF LAW AND DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE.

[1](#)4. ( C ) AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN RESPONDED THAT HE WELCOMED THE  
VICE PRESIDENT'S FRANKNESS AND WOULD ALSO SPEAK PLAINLY. THE  
AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT THE US HAD SUPPORTED AFRICAN  
INDEPENDENCE SINCE BEFORE THE KENNEDY ERA, HAD OPPOSED THE IAN  
SMITH GOVERNMENT AND HAD SUPPORTED MAJORITY RULE IN  
RHODESIA/ZIMBABWE. HE ALSO EXPLAINED THAT THE US HAD PROVIDED  
OVER US\$700 MILLION SINCE 1980 IN FULFILLMENT OF THE PLEDGE IT  
MADE AT THE LANCASTER HOUSE NEGOTIATIONS. THE AMBASSADOR WENT  
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1998 DONORS' CONFERENCE ON LAND REFORM IN ZIMBABWE, BUT THAT  
ZIMBABWE HAD DEVIATED FROM THOSE PRINCIPLES. HE SPOKE OF THE  
VIOLENCE ASSOCIATED WITH POLITICS AND LAND REFORM AND SAID THAT  
THE RULE OF LAW HAD NOT BEEN FOLLOWED IN ZIMBABWE. THE  
AMBASSADOR EXPLAINED THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE ZDERA, POINTED

OUT THAT IT OFFERED MORE INCENTIVES THAN SANCTIONS, AND SAID THAT ZIMBABWE'S RETURN TO THE RULE OF LAW WOULD OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF TAKING ADVANTAGE OF SUCH INCENTIVES.

LAND REFORM AND ABUJA

15. ( C ) VICE PRESIDENT MSIKA STOUTLY DEFENDED THE GOZ RECORD  
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ON LAND REFORM AND RULE OF LAW. HE STATED THAT VIOLENCE ON THE FARMS HAD BEEN STARTED BY WHITE COMMERCIAL FARMERS AND BY "PEOPLE WHO DID NOT WANT TO SHARE." HE INSISTED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT HAD NOT DEVIATED FROM THE PRINCIPLES OF THE 1998 DONORS' CONFERENCE, IS PEACE LOVING AND BELIEVES IN THE RULE OF LAW. HE SAID THAT "EXTERNAL FORCES" HAD MADE THE LAND REFORM ISSUE "MORE COMPLICATED" AND HAD MADE "PEOPLE DO THINGS THEY SHOULD NOT HAVE DONE." AS MSIKA EXPLAINED IT, THE PEASANTS' HUNGER FOR LAND, THE PEOPLE'S ANGER, AND THE PRESENCE OF "CRIMINALS MASQUERADING AS EX-COMBATANTS," RESULTED IN THE OCCUPATION OF FARMS THAT DID NOT MEET THE GOZ CRITERIA FOR SEIZURE. AS EVIDENCE OF THE GOZ DETERMINATION TO ABIDE BY THE RULE OF LAW, HE DETAILED HIS EFFORTS TO REMOVE MORE THAN 600 FARMS FROM THE LIST OF PROPERTIES APPROVED FOR SEIZURE. HE DID NOT EXPLAIN HOW FARMS THAT DID NOT MEET GOZ CRITERIA FOR ON TO SAY THAT THE GOZ HAD NEVER DEVIATED FROM ITS PRINCIPLED STAND ON LAND REFORM OR THE RULE OF LAW, AND THAT THE ABUJA AGREEMENT OF SEPTEMBER CONFIRMED THE JUSTICE OF ITS POLICIES AND ACTIONS. MSIKA SAID THAT ZIMBABWE'S LAND PROBLEMS EXISTED BEFORE THE ABUJA AGREEMENT AND WOULD TAKE MORE TIME TO RESOLVE. HE AGAIN MADE THE POINT THAT ZIMBABWE HAD "SUFFERED FROM LAND REFORM, RULE OF LAW, ELECTION OBSERVATION

INTERNATIONAL INTERFERENCE THAT COMPLICATED OUR PATH."  
AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN URGED MSIKA TO PREVENT FUTURE VIOLENCE AND TO CONTINUE TO MOVE INVADERS OFF OF ILLEGALLY OCCUPIED FARMS.

ELECTION OBSERVERS

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16. ( C ) AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN RAISED THE ISSUE OF ELECTION OBSERVERS, EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT THE GOZ WOULD INVITE INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS AND ASKING WHEN A DECISION MIGHT BE MADE ON THAT ISSUE. MSIKA REPLIED THAT IT WAS HIS "CONVICTION" THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD BE HAPPY TO INVITE OBSERVERS OR MONITORS IF AND WHEN THEY WERE NEEDED. THE VP MADE A CLEAR DISTINCTION BETWEEN OBSERVERS AND MONITORS AND SAID HE SAW NO NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL MONITORS IN ZIMBABWE. MSIKA EXPRESSED ANGER OVER WHAT HE CHARACTERIZED AS THE EU "DEMAND" THAT OBSERVERS BE INVITED. HE SAID THAT ZIMBABWE'S SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE ARE "NOT NEGOTIABLE" AND THAT NO ONE HAS THE RIGHT TO DEMAND THAT THE GOZ INVITE OBSERVERS. HE SAID THAT ZIMBABWE HAD NOTHING TO HIDE AND POINTED TO THE GOVERNMENT'S DEFEAT IN THE FEBRUARY 2000 CONSTITUTIONAL REFERENDUM AS EVIDENCE OF ZIMBABWE'S CAPACITY TO RUN FAIR ELECTIONS. THE AMBASSADOR MADE THE POINT THAT INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS ARE STANDARD PRACTICE AROUND THE WORLD, INCLUDING IN THE US, AND THAT THEY ENHANCE CONFIDENCE IN ELECTION RESULTS AND REDUCE THE RISK OF ELECTION-RELATED VIOLENCE.

WE ARE NOT THE ENEMY

17. ( C ) MSIKA ENDED THE MEETING BY SAYING THAT ZIMBABWE NEEDED THE US - NEEDED ITS BUSINESS, ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT. HE THEN ASKED WHY THE US WANTED TO "MAKE ZIMBABWE YOUR ENEMY - WE ARE NOT THE ENEMY." MSIKA RECOUNTED THAT HE HAD BEEN IN THE US DURING THE 1988 ELECTIONS AND HAD BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE ABILITY OF AMERICANS FROM DIFFERENT POLITICAL PARTIES TO DISCUSS ISSUES. HE SAID THAT HAD TAUGHT HIM AN IMPORTANT LESSON ABOUT DIALOGUE BETWEEN PEOPLE WITH DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AND THAT  
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HE HOPED THAT HE AND THE AMBASSADOR COULD CONTINUE TO ENGAGE IN OPEN, HONEST DISCUSSIONS.

COMMENT

18. ( C ) VICE PRESIDENT MSIKA'S VERSION OF ZIMBABWE'S RECENT ON LAND REFORM AND RULE OF LAW, FOLLOWS VERY CLOSELY RECENT STATEMENTS BY PRESIDENT MUGABE AND OTHER HIGH-RANKING GOZ OFFICIALS. THEY CLEARLY HAVE A UNIFIED SET OF TALKING POINTS. THAT BOTH MUGABE AND MSIKA MADE THE EFFORT TO OFFER THE AMBASSADOR A LENGTHY HISTORY LESSON -ALBEIT A ONE-SIDED ONE - INDICATES BOTH THEIR VIEW OF THE WORLD AND THEIR BELIEF THAT WE DO NOT UNDERSTAND OR APPRECIATE THAT VIEW. IN SPITE OF VP MSIKA'S PROFESSED DESIRE FOR OPEN, FRANK DISCUSSION, THERE DOES NOT SEEM TO BE MUCH ROOM FOR ALTERNATIVE POINTS OF VIEW ON HOW ZIMBABWE HAS COME TO ITS CURRENT STATE OF AFFAIRS. RECENT

MEETINGS WITH VP MSIKA AND OTHER SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS INDICATE THE US ACCESS TO THE GOZ HAS IMPROVED FOR THE TIME BEING. THE TOP ZANU-PF LEADERSHIP SEES THIS EXERCISE AS ONE OF PERSUADING US NOT TO BE THEIR ENEMIES RATHER THAN LISTENING TO WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE TO AVOID FURTHER DETERIORATION OF RELATIONS.

19. ( C ) ON NOVEMBER 12, THE AMBASSADOR WAS CONVOKED TO PAY A COURTESY CALL ON ZIMBABWE'S OTHER VICE PRESIDENT, SIMON MUZENDA; SLIGHTLY OLDER THAN VP MSIKA (79 V

1S. 77), SLIGHTLY MORE IRRELEVANT, AND EQUALLY LOYAL TO PRESIDENT MUGABE. THE MEETING WAS EVEN LESS SUBSTANTIVE WITH MUCH OF THE CONVERSATION DEVOTED TO TELLING MUZENDA WHY THE RHODESIANS' LABELING OF  
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LIBERATION FIGHTERS AS "TERRORISTS" OUGHT NOT INHIBIT THE ZANU-PF GOVERNMENT FROM WHOLEHEARTED SUPPORT OF THE WAR AGAINST THE AL QAEDA TERRORIST NETWORK. MORE INTERESTING WAS THE FRANK AND SOMEWHAT NAIVE. QUESTIONS FROM MUZENDA: "WHY DO YOU AMERICANS WANT TO KICK OUT MUGABE?" WE GAVE THE STANDARD ANSWER THAT IT WAS UP TO ZIMBABWEANS TO CHOOSE THEIR LEADERS THROUGH FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS AND MADE THE CASE FOR BROAD OBSERVATION OF ELECTIONS.

SULLIVAN

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ACTION AF-00

INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	AID-00	ACQ-00	CIAE-00	INL-00	DODE-00
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	DCP-01	NSAE-00	EPAE-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	NFAT-00	SAS-00

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P 131408Z NOV 01  
FM AMEMBASSY HARARE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0259  
INFO NSC WASHDC PRIORITY  
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 HARARE 003367

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR JENDAYI FRAZER  
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU  
LONDON FOR GURNEY  
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E.O. 12958: DECL. 10/31/11  
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PAGE 02 HARARE 03367 01 OF 02 131451Z  
SUMMARY

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FIGHT AGAINST TERRORISM  
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12. (U) AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN OPENED THE MEETING BY THANKING MSIKA FOR GOZ SUPPORT IN THE GLOBAL EFFORT AGAINST TERRORISM. THE AMBASSADOR MADE FUNDAMENTAL POINTS ABOUT THE FIGHT AGAINST TERROR AND RECEIVED MSIKA'S ASSURANCE THAT ZIMBABWE UNDERSTOOD THE ISSUES AND WOULD MAINTAIN A STRONG POSITION AGAINST TERRORISM.

US POLICY TOWARD ZIMBABWE

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13. ( C ) VICE PRESIDENT MSIKA OFFERED A LENGTHY OVERVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF ZIMBABWE SINCE 1979. THE POINTS HE MADE ABOUT THE LANCASTER HOUSE NEGOTIATIONS, INEQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF LAND  
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14. ( C ) AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN RESPONDED THAT HE WELCOMED THE VICE PRESIDENT'S FRANKNESS AND WOULD ALSO SPEAK PLAINLY. THE AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT THAT THE US HAD SUPPORTED AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE SINCE BEFORE THE KENNEDY ERA, HAD OPPOSED THE IAN SMITH GOVERNMENT AND HAD SUPPORTED MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA/ZIMBABWE. HE ALSO EXPLAINED THAT THE US HAD PROVIDED OVER US\$700 MILLION SINCE 1980 IN FULFILLMENT OF THE PLEDGE IT MADE AT THE LANCASTER HOUSE NEGOTIATIONS. THE AMBASSADOR WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE US SUPPORTED THE PRINCIPLES AGREED TO AT THE 1998 DONORS' CONFERENCE ON LAND REFORM IN ZIMBABWE, BUT THAT ZIMBABWE HAD DEVIATED FROM THOSE PRINCIPLES. HE SPOKE OF THE VIOLENCE ASSOCIATED WITH POLITICS AND LAND REFORM AND SAID THAT THE RULE OF LAW HAD NOT BEEN FOLLOWED IN ZIMBABWE. THE AMBASSADOR EXPLAINED THE CURRENT STATUS OF THE ZDERA, POINTED OUT THAT IT OFFERED MORE INCENTIVES THAN SANCTIONS, AND SAID THAT ZIMBABWE'S RETURN TO THE RULE OF LAW WOULD OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF TAKING ADVANTAGE OF SUCH INCENTIVES.

LAND REFORM AND ABUJA  
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ACTION AF-00

INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	AID-00	ACQ-00	CIAE-00	INL-00	DODE-00
	SRPP-00	DS-00	VC-00	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-00	LAB-01
	VCE-00	DCP-01	NSAE-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02	NFAT-00	SAS-00
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P 131408Z NOV 01  
FM AMEMBASSY HARARE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0260  
INFO NSC WASHDC PRIORITY  
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 HARARE 003367

SIPDIS

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR JENDAYI FRAZER  
BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEU  
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E.O. 12958: DECL. 10/31/11  
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ELECTION OBSERVERS  
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16. ( C ) AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN RAISED THE ISSUE OF ELECTION  
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19. ( C ) ON NOVEMBER 12, THE AMBASSADOR WAS CONVOKED TO PAY A  
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SULLIVAN

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